THE PORT FOLIO
ENLARGED.

BY OLIVER OLDSCHOOL, ESQ.

..... "VARIOUS, THAT THE MIND
OF DESULTORY MAN, STUDIOUS OF CHANGE,
AND PLEAS'D WITH NOVELTY, MAY BE INDULGED."
COWPER.

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ORIGINAL PAPERS.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

THE AMERICAN LOUNGER,

BY SAMUEL SAUNTER, ESQ.

No. XIX.

TO SAMUEL SAUNTER, ESQ.

SIR,

ATTACHED as I am to the female sex, and habituated, as I have been, to devote my hours, and assiduously to toil for their amusement; prompted to this line of conduct, as well by ardent feelings, as by the enthusiastic veneration I bear to the age of chivalry, the pride of gallantry in me has been wounded, by my permitting "*Aristippus, junior*" to notice, before me, the pathetic but elegant communication of "*Mrs. M.*" in No 15. I might, however, have found a balm for this wound, if she had been treated, by *Aristippus*, with that politeness and respect, which are due to a *married* female, who, "*by her economy*," has verified the maxim of a philosopher and *a patriot*, that "a penny saved is a penny gained." I expect confidently her pardon, however, when she finds that I shall atone, by my zeal in her defence, for the crime of delaying my attention to her heart-breaking communication.

I am, Mr. Saunter, a member of "the *Tuesday club*." It was early my opinion, that an association for the attainment of objects, honourable in their nature, and useful in their tendencies, should have "*a name*." I was fully aware, that, *not in novels alone*, "ORLANDO" always gained more female hearts than *Peter or Sam;* and believing that this just discrimination extended beyond the period of "sweet fifteen," I was anxious that our club, by its title, should gain favourable prepossessions in the public mind. My associates in the club will testify that this was strenuously urged by me. At our first meeting, I expatiated at length on the importance of a sounding name. I proved to demonstration, that the *name* of a certain meeting of legislators in this state, was the only barrier to public contempt; that the utility of sounding names was clearly exemplified in the "*Vicar of Wakefield*." I believe that my eloquence would have been successful, but, just as we were about taking *the sense* of the company, a merry member rose, and, in a voice, which is better known at the club than at tea-parties, loudly vociferated,

"*What virtue in a name? That, which we call a rose, by any other name, would smell as sweet.*" Finding that Shakspeare was against me, my opposition ceased, and the "*club*" was nameless.

Disappointed in this important preliminary step, I resolved to exert myself to procure a secretary to the club, who should faithfully minute our proceedings. I had been too much among republicans to be ignorant, that, in a free country, there should be no closed doors, and that it would be not less unpolite than aristocratic, to keep our proceedings secret, especially from the ladies. I was the more prompted to exertion for this object, as we had no *married* men in the club, and as I knew that, with the ladies, a knowledge of our measures alone would secure their applause. I believed, with the ladies, that they had a right to be informed of all our proceedings; that, although wits might call it curiosity in them, it was a laudable thirst for information; and that to avoid an interference with the ladies, on their tea-party evenings, they should be consulted as to the nights, on which the members of the club might be spared. I wished also to make a virtue of necessity; for, believing that one of the members *might* be married before the close of the season, and knowing the frailty and wavering of a bridegroom, during the honey-moon, I wished the club to have that merit, which results from openness and candour. I therefore moved, that a secretary should be appointed, who should be ordered to present the proceedings of the club at each monthly or other meeting of the "Philadelphia Female Association." Here, I believe, I should have succeeded, but the jovial member, to whom I have before alluded, marred my schemes. He thought, that some parts of our proceedings should not be made public, and exclaimed aloud, in allusion to women,

> "Constant you are,
> But yet a woman, and for secrecy
> No lady closer; for I will believe
> Thou wilt not utter what thou dost not know,
> And so far will I trust ye, gentle dame."

I have too high a veneration for Shakspeare, to oppose his doctrines; and, although it may be possible he may be wrong, I did not choose to appear vain, by opposing my judgment to his, in a public club. I yielded, and the doors were closed to all but the waiter.

As this was the result of our proceedings, I am, of course, bound to secrecy, with regard to the meetings of the club. I know well, that, as the interests of women are so intimately connected with those of our sex, they have an indisputable right to be informed of our actions. It is certainly an ordination of nature, and, in pursuance of this ordination, the ladies, by some means or other, always do find out the haunts of men. I know well too, that, like *Tilburina*, they sometimes "*do see what is not in sight.*" But, if they can thus see things, which are not to be seen, they certainly can see, with much greater ease, all that is to be seen.

I regret that, by the rules of the club, I cannot be the medium of information to the ladies; but, although restricted from telling what does pass, I am at liberty to say what *does not* pass; particularly as our reputations suffer, in the opinions of females, from the unfortunate suspicion, that one of our members learned among us more Latin than he could from his parents, who wisely "*avoided sending him to school, where his learning was to be acquired at the expense of his morals!*"

I must then, Mr. Saunter, pray you to persuade "Mrs. M." that her son did not learn his Latin among us. I am sure, that the nature of our whole conversation was totally unknown at Rome. We have gained but little indeed, if eighteen centuries have not given to us new terms, and new ideas; and, although the son of Mrs. M. may tell his mother "non decet te rixari," I appeal to the candour of the ladies, whether this expression could have been learned at a male club, or whether it could ever be properly applied but *at home*. Mrs. M. may have reason to believe that "*heu! ignaræ mentes*" was called forth at the "Tuesday club,' and I shall not contradict her, but it was certainly indecorous in her son to apply it *at home*. If he had heard of another maxim, he would certainly have been silent...."*Veritas non est omnibus horis loquendum.*"

I pray you now, Mr. Saunter, to tender to Mrs. M. the homage of my high consideration; to tell her, that I lament that the wise, but uncommon, mode of her son's education failed of its object; that, if it be possible to persuade him to associate with the ladies entirely, after his initiation in the "Tuesday club," it shall be done. Tell her, I pray you, that her laudable thirst for information ought, in my opinion, to be gratified, and that my exertions shall be used for that purpose. Tell her also, that I shall atempt to persuade my associates (what I fear will be impossible to convince *them* of) that their evenings should be devoted to the ladies, in order that their manners may be polished, and their minds strengthened. These things shall be attempted, without fee or reward; and, in return, *we* will not ask, or even wish, to be admitted at the meetings of the "Philadelphia Female Association."

QUIXOTE.

INTERESTING TRAVELS

IN AMERICA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF BULOW.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

(CONTINUED.)

CHAP. IV.

Germans....Hollanders, &c.

I NOW turn to the Germans, as the least numerous among the principal classes of Europeans, who peopled America. These Germans were from the most unenlightened and oppressed provinces of the German empire. In their country, the Palatinate, Hesse, and other parts bordering upon the Rhine, they belonged to the poorest class of the common people, for the prospering peasant never emigrates from Germany nor any other European country. Though among these people there was much vicious rabble, they distinguished themselves greatly by their industry above their Irish fellow-colonists, and the exports of the middle colonies might have remained, but for these wheat-producing German machines, very trifling. The only sentiment of these uneducated people was self-interest, which, always connected with frugality, their descendants inherited, excepting when they were infected by the luxury of the other colonists, or corrupted by the licentiousness of the Irish rabble. In the last case they exhibit to the eye of the European observer, astonished at such incongruities, the lamentable and disgusting spectacle of a lewd and vicious barbarian; in the former, the ridiculous one of a man rapidly risen from no-

thing, whose coarse outside and aukward behaviour laughably contrasts with the elegance that surrounds him. The Hollanders, Swedes, French, and others, have been too few in number to deserve a place among the principal classes of ancestors of the Americans. I say nothing of the emigrations since the revolution, because they are too recent to have given national ancestors to the Americans, of whom I am now speaking. Since that period, a very different class of men have begun to emigrate thither, and I shall speak of them hereafter in the proper place. It is however certain, that the emigrations, which gave existence to the American people, consisted of the dregs of several European nations, and consequently that no high degree of virtue and political heroism can be expected from their descendants, unless they, by the force of circumstances, have been born again and ennobled; and even if it were not allowable to call these emigrants an abominable medley. Nor do I deny, that many virtuous and respectable families likewise emigrated to America; but as they constituted only a very feeble minority, such exceptions can by no means affect the accuracy of a general result. We shall now examine whether circumstances have occurred calculated to operate a new birth upon the character of the people.

CHAP. V.

The organization of the Country gave rise to a trading influence. Its pernicious operation upon the morals.

"IF you inhabit," says Rousseau, in the Contrat Social, "an extensive sea coast, intersected by bays and harbours, cover the ocean wtth your ships, and your existence will be splendid, but short." Upon such a coast were those emigrants, of whom I have just spoken, cast. What a temptation to trade by sea! especially as the soil, upon which they had to labour, was, on account of its bad quality, ill fitted for agriculture. As the bad grounds in the southern colonies were found competent to produce rice, indigo, and tobacco, the exportation of these valuable articles gave nourishment to this commerce. The hilly regions of the middle, and in part of the northern colonies, were soon wrested from the Indians, and cultivated; they gave good harvests of wheat and other grain, which, from the proximity of the West India colonies in America, which consumed without producing these articles, of course became excellent objects of export trade. But the imports, as the colonists could not possibly themselves raise the European goods, which they wanted, and the mother country carefully prevented their attempting what would have been diametrically opposite to her object in settling the colonies, of course far exceeded the exports, and principally gave life to this trade, necessarily making the planters, who were always forced to sell beforehand their harvests, the slaves of the merchant. Hence arose the predominancy of the trading interest, which has continued to this day. A general spirit of trade spread itself throughout the country, and the planters were rather sellers of raw produce than farmers. Consider how largely the organization of the country contributed to produce this mercantile spirit. For as the English colonies properly formed only a long, and proportionably small valley, between the Apalachian mountains and the ocean, while the French possessed all the lands west of the Allegany mountains, the settlers were obliged to stretch themselves along the coast, and of course to remain always in the vortex of the commercial interest, especially as several navigable rivers facilitated the communication with the sea.

An opposite effect would have been produced if the country had extended far in land, and had possessed a fruitful soil; if it had been watered only by a single large river, the rapidity of which should have rendered the navigation inward extremely difficult, and have presented to the European settlers a small coast. Such is the nature of the country on the Mississippi, and hence the first agricultural and manufacturing states will arise there, and by the peopling of those extensive regions the commercial interest must, in case the Atlantic and western states should remain united, cease to predominate, and yield to the farming and manufacturing influence that pre-eminence, which is so conformable to the public welfare.

Every circumstance contributed, however, to invite the English colonies to speculative commerce. On the one hand, the sea gave occasion to exportations and importations, and, on the other, the Indians, from whom, as inexperienced men of nature, it was very easy to filch large tracts of land, dwelt to the westward. It may be maintained, that the colonists floating thus between Scylla and Charybdis, could hardly withstand such strong temptations to grow suddenly rich, and that their virtue necessarily went to wreck upon one of these two rocks.

Export and import trade should always rest upon the basis not only of agriculture, that is the raising of raw produce, but of manufactures, or the working up of this raw produce. In the opposite case, an order of things arises, which, as the mean proportion, or manufacture, is wanting, can furnish no solid foundation for commerce. A people without manufactures and with luxury, must always take from foreigners more than they can give in return. Hence their merchants, as debtors, are always dependent upon foreigners, and the people always dependent upon their merchants. This must, of course, make these last masters of the legislative and administrative authorities? They are however themselves compelled to prefer the interest of that nation, to which most of their creditors belong, to that of their own country, or to break off at once all connection, and thus put an end to their own commercial existence. In this situation of things, can the laws of the country be adapted to the general welfare? will not this external commerce, by inflaming the desire for superfluities, give to sensuality a preponderance, pernicious to the morals, over the rational faculties? and will not, of course, covetousness be the ruling passion of such a people? will it not be morally degraded by envy, and the whole train of selfish passions, to which the fear of concurrence necessarily connected with trade gives birth? In agriculture alone the advantage of the farmer is not injured by concurrence, but, on the contrary, prospers in the same proportion with it. It is a warning of Providence to point out the employment the most beneficial to individuals, and, of course, to states*.

Such a country was therefore not calculated to ennoble the European colonists. It remains now to be examined, whether history teaches that they really were ennobled, or proves their character to be the genuine production of their origin and of their country.

CHAP. VI.

Characteristic historical Sketch.

I SHALL not at all concern myself with the insignificant history of the English colonies, until their separation from the mother country, though the progress of mechanical labours, in certain respects, would be very interesting. But the character of the colonists, considered as a nation, is unfolded only by the events of the revolution, and the annals of the United States until this time. The obscure period when these colonies originated (I call it obscure, not because it is unknown, but because its events, being unimportant, have little interest for us) exhibits the European emigrants too much occupied with the labours necessary for the sustenance of mere animal life; their minds were too much shackled by the acquisition of absolute necessaries, interesting only to themselves, to unfold their moral nature in such a mere animal mode of life. Hence arose an ungenuine simplicity, a compulsive absence of luxury, which deceived the author of the *Cultivateur Americain*, who saw the end of this period. I call it an ungenuine simplicity, because, like counterfeit precious stones, they had only the external appearance of this property, and not its substance grounded in the mind, as the innocence of children is barely external, and real innocence, the fruit of wisdom, attendant upon age.

Yet even this early period, this infancy of the colonies, is sullied with unheard of cruelties, and shameful deceptions practised upon the Indians. I will only mention the murder of so many Indians by a pack of banditti, calling themselves *Paxton boys* in the court-house of Lancaster, where these wild men, as they are called, fled for refuge from the tame ones, bent upon murdering them, and where they were most unhumanly butchered, in the very sanctuary of justice. So that even this kind of animal harmlessness vanished at once, whenever the gross interests of the colonists appeared to require it should be set aside. But no sooner had the colonists become sufficiently numerous to be called a people, than their character unfolded itself by their breaking away from the mother country. I am very far from disapproving this salutary revolution; it will be seen hereafter how much I am persuaded of its necessity, and how favourable to humanity its consequences appear to be; but its first motive was self-interest. The British parliament undertook to tax: and thus attacked the colonists in their tenderest part. Had the parliament prescribed to them moral laws, they would have been content to take them, for their idea of representation extended only to the right of being taxed by their representatives alone; an idea imported from England, where it is held to constitute almost exclusively political liberty. The parliament passed indeed a declaratory act, asserting a right to bind the Americans in all cases whatsoever, which rendered resistance necessary. But the troubles existed already, before this law was made, and while the only controversy was about taxation. The foundation of the disturbances was however deeper laid than in the contested right of taxation: but still in self-interest, and of a commercial nature. For England restrained the trade of her colonies, whose trade of exports and imports was carried on by the intervention of Englishmen. The merchants of the colonies could not carry their produce immediately to foreign countries, whose productions in return they were likewise obliged to purchase in England. The prospect of an unlimited freedom of trade, as the necessary consequence of a separation from the mother country, must have irresistible charms for people, whose eagerness for gain is unbounded. The measures of the British parliament furnished them with an excellent pretext to bring about a change, which they so much desired; and thus was this celebrated revolution of liberty, little more, in its embyro, than a commercial speculation of rapacious traders, whose influence in their country was predominant.

On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that the measures of the British ministry had no other object in view than to draw money from a country, which possessed little of it. It seems as if

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* This is likewise confirmed by the consideration, that a numerous family of children is wealth to a labouring freeholder, though an unfavourable circumstance to the welfare of a man in any other class of society.

the ministers hoped that in case the American colonists should resist, their country would be very easy to conquer; and we shall soon see that this hope was very well founded. After this conquest, they would have deprived those adjudged rebels of all their laws, which they had carried with them from England, and would have set the example in America of that despotism, which they meant afterwards to introduce into England, and which, in our days, another minister has introduced there. This subjection of America would furthermore have increased their power to an irresistible degree, by the numerous distributions of lands and offices, which it would have occasioned. Thus, abominable as the motives, which men in power assign for their conduct, appear, their concealed intentions are commonly still more detestable.

The conduct of the American people during the revolutionary war, will be the principal test of their character, and this will be found accurately delineated in the official letters of general Washington; a document, of which the subtlest law-quibbler cannot deny the competency. The facts contained in these remarkable letters shall be the polar star of my inquiries.

CHAP. VII.

Continuation of the characteristic historical sketch.

AT the breaking out of the war, in the year 1776, it was very easy to collect a considerable number of armed men; for they thought it would be easy to drive away the English from the country, that is, from Boston, and that would put an end to the whole business. The general sentiment was, "Let us drive away these Englishmen, who come to demand taxes." The New-England militia too behaved with great bravery before Boston. But this transient energy was very soon evaporated; for as the winter season drew near, no one would serve any longer, and general Washington found himself in the unexampled embarrassment, of having to levy a new army, at two paces distant from the enemy, and he could scarcely, with inexpressible pains, prevent his own troops from deserting him altogether. The English had the complaisance to suffer this before their eyes, without attacking him, though they might at one stroke have destroyed the whole military power of the Americans. They had even the complaisance to leave Boston, which shews in no advantageous point of view the military sagacity of that nation. The Americans were totally destitute of powder, arms, and all the necessaries of war. At the beginning of the war, this was in some measure excusable, but these same articles, and magazines, were equally wanting the next year, which is by no means to the honour of a government and people, who would fain have worked out their liberty without making any sacrifices. In the same next year, considerable numbers of the militia were again prevailed upon, by the promise of large pay, to devote themselves for a short time to the service of their threatened country: but after being everywhere beaten near New York, as soon as it began to be cold they immediately returned to their homes. They came without arms, though they had muskets at home. Half the troops of the army were unarmed; yet it was necessary to furnish arms to these militia men. There was a want of powder; yet it was necessary to supply the militia with some of the little there was; and when the time of service of these patriots had expired, they carried home with them to shoot squirrels this powder, and these muskets, which belonged to their deeply distressed country. It was thus that the North American soldiers of liberty behaved.

General Washington thought he could defend with only a land force, New York, against a force both by sea and land, which, on the part of so well informed a commander, is scarcely credible. He would infallibly, with all his militia, have been made prisoner in New York, had the English general with more activity made himself master of the post of Kingsbridge. General Lee, who, from enthusiasm for the American cause, had abandoned the prospect of splendid advancement, and an income of 1000l. sterling in England, arrived just in time to make general Washington see the danger of his situation, and to draw the troops away from New York island. This general Lee rendered other services to the Americans; but he must have starved with hunger, or begged his bread without obtaining it, as he says in his Memoirs, if a certain Mr. Morris had not assisted him. That he had caballed against general Washington, to deprive him of the chief command, was an offence against general Washington, which your men in power, who love the possession of authority, never forgive; but it was no offence against the state, which he believed himself able to serve better than general Washington; a question, which still remains undetermined. Besides, a rotation in the supreme command followed of course from his republican principles. His offence at the skirmish of Monmouth is yet very problematical; at least he justifies it, as it seems, completely in his letters, and it is indeed astonishing how it could give occasion to a court-martial, and yet more wonderful how this court-martial decided. That the congress ratified the sentence is less surprizing; for this congress, which bore little resemblance to a Roman senate, consisted of the humble servants of general Washington. It is therefore ascertained that general Lee, happily for himself, died early enough to escape indigence, but late enough to exhibit the ingratitude of the Americans in an odious light. I hold it indeed for certain, that all intelligent military men, who read his justification, contained in the Memoirs of General Lee, will be of opinion, that his conduct at the distant cannonade and light skirmish of Monmouth, which all the Americans call a battle, was not only free from faults, but altogether worthy of an able general, well endowed with the talent of the military *coup d'œil*.

I return to the campaign of 1776. General Washington, notwithstanding all the representations of general Lee, could not prevail upon himself to abandon Fort Washington, situated upon New-York island. The Hessians took this fort by storm, and made two thousand prisoners; besides a great deal of artillery and warlike stores. This shews what would have been general Washington's fate, had not his guardian angel Lee persuaded him to withdraw from New-York. Indecision, with such a mass of information as general Washington possesses, can only proceed from a disagreement between the light of the understanding and the energy of the will, or from a clearer perception of the disadvantages of every resolution, than of its advantages.

It was contrary to all military evidence that general Washington believed he could maintain himself in New-York, and even upon Long-Island. Of the detachment upon Long-Island he lost 3000 men; the rest ran away. It must be imputed to the English generals as a fault, not to have taken them all. It was believed that the members of congress with the army, being ignorant of military affairs, were the causes of the resolution to defend New-York. But from the official letters of general Washington, now published, it appears to have been his own idea.

In the retreat from New-York to beyond the Delaware, the whole American army, excepting about three thousand men, dispersed themselves. These three thousand men deserved, like the three hundred Spartans, statues to their honour, while the shameful dereliction of their standards at the moment of the greatest danger, brands the American people with shame. The surprise of Trenton was for the Americans, what the Thermopylæ were to Greece. This surprise is one of the most skilful and boldest enterprizes of our century. It is, however, surpassed by the undertaking at Princeton, and both events are sufficient to raise a general to the temple of immortality; especially when, as in this case, he is contending for the welfare of his country. General Washington confesses himself, that the war would have been at an end, if he had had only six hundred men fit for action, to march with him to Brunswick, where the magazine and warlike chest of the English army lay, without a guard. But his men were too much exhausted; and besides, adds he, in his letter, which marks his excessively cautious character, always finding obstacles, the success would have been uncertain. What a coldness of character must that be, which can resist the temptation to destroy an army of nearly thirty thousand men, with a couple of thousand, by a march of a few miles, and a blow, which could not fail! The destruction of the English army was inevitable; for they would have been hemmed in upon the sea-coast, destitute of every necessary, in the barrenest part of New-Jersey, and must either have laid down their arms, or taken to their ships! What an immortal glory would not general Washington have acquired!..... Was it really impossible to prevail upon his troops, by holding up before them such a splendid prospect, to march a few miles further? Did general Washington not remember Cæsar's maxim, that "nothing is done while ought remains to do"? Or were his troops utterly incapable of proceeding two steps further? A supposition not easily to be imagined.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANY.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

AFTER finishing a long scientific octavo, one must be sometimes less surprized by the gin-horse assiduity of the author, than plagued by his fantastic ingenuity, in contriving the ramifications of his subject. I devoutly hope, however, that such may not be deemed the ingenuity of a gentleman, who was a passionate architect of systems, an imitator of Sterne, and has left me a specimen of his passion and imitation, in the two hundred and seventieth page of a manuscript on *courting*. I am the more solicitous on this head, because I shall keep back every other page of this excellent and rare treatise, in which many descriptions of people are interested, unless the following passage gain high and continued laud, for its philosophy, its truth, and its *Latin*, all of which are humby submitted by

HOLLIS.

"I give you my word, madam, there is nothing, in the whole vocabulary of ventriloquism, half so expressive as a *sigh*. Now, it has always been my way of thinking, that a man might look any thing out of his eyes, and a woman too, saving your ladyship, without the least counsel of the heart. All above the thorax has so little commerce with the arteries and veins, that lead in and out of that great repository of feeling, that, nine times out of ten, they play you false: nay, it is the province of education to strike out the residue, and to deny honesty even its solitary *tythe*. I wouldn't, by the golden thigh of Pythagoras, I wouldn't believe you the sooner, because you look'd and talk'd fair, than I would.....no matter what. But, when a man swears that he loves you, and brings a deep, long-drawn sigh for his voucher, I defy Pyrrho, and Berkley, and the whole court of king's bench, with

Lloyd, lord Kenyon, at its head, to say it is not evidence. It stands to reason, madam, and has, ever since Abelard lost his ..... Eloisa, which, according to the best chronologies, was about the year 1142. "And pray what has Abelard to do with the subject?" I could have sworn you would have asked the question. Nothing, madam, upon my honour, more than you or I have.

"Your ladyship will please to observe, that a sigh may be considered historically or geographically, physically or technically; any way, in fact, but politically. A political sigh is nothing more than a grunt; I could tell it as far as I could hear it. In the third chapter of Genesis, it is demonstrated historically, if it be not an interpolation, which God forbid, that Adam was the very first sigher; and, in geography and physics, we might speak of the island of Chios, of a high and dry soil, that sublimates the affections, and opens all the avenues for their expression. But technically .....oh! what a feast for Linnæus or .....; *technically*, there is the sigh of *Love*, the sigh of *Hope*, the sigh of *Despair*, the sigh of *Regret*, of *Remorse*, and lastly of a *full stomach*, as you may find in Dr. Willich's Lectures on Diet and Regimen, passim.

"Now, madam, I hold that the sigh of *Love*, not being the sigh of Despair, is the gentlest, sweetest, easiest sigh, that a christian can expectorate. I answer not for a mahometan, whose love is quotidian; nor for a Jew, whose love is mercenary; nor for an Indian, who, according to the best authorities, has no love at all; but, for the christian sigh, I call the eighth Harry to witness, that there is nothing so heart-easing to the lover, nor any thing in the *argumentum ad fæminam* that so completely shuts up the valve of controversy. The traits of this sigh, sir, are remarkable,.....*Caput proclinatum, oculi firmiter intenti, distensio pulmonum et contractio foculis, miraque titillatio præcordiorum*..... 'Tis as plain, in fact, as Diego's nose.

"The sigh of *Hope*. Oh! how well do I know its characters! When I have wiped away the cold death-drops that chased each other down the forehead of my friend; when I have composed the features of his cherished face, distorted by the last agony; when I have turned to his desolate little flock, clinging in mute terror round their mother ....Almighty Father! with what a full suspiration have I ejaculated, "We shall meet again!"

"The sigh of *Despair*, madam, is of no particular character; and, with all my skill, I have been very grossly cheated in it. It is but two nights since, as I am told, that I saw it slipping out between the labials of a young swain, who, from his emotions, I concluded had only taken his coffee too hot; and I could be sworn that the despair of that tall statesman, who has looked to preferment for the last lustre, is deemed, by half the company, nothing deeper than a touch of the cholic. The general description of it might be "*Frons corrugata, oculorumque sclerotica denudata, os apertum, amplificatio thoracis cordisque palpitatio convellens.*" But of this, may it please your worships, I am not well convinced.

"The sigh of *Regret* is a pitiful little thing, that most commonly debarks against the fan of a faded coquette, and is not of course, easily analyzed.

"But worse than plague, pestilence, or famine, battle, murder, or sudden death, is the sigh of *Remorse*. It twists the whole pulmonary chest, ma'am, to so villainous a degree, that my father has often said, that he knew nobody, who could bear it, but Powell the fire-eater. It is as legible too as the hand writing on the wall. Your ladyship saw it. I wish the congregated hosts of earth had seen it struggling in that wretch, who would plant a prostitute in the seat of his wife, and throw her, with her helpless orphans, to the street.

"The last *sigh*, as an author, I have not had much opportunity to study; but, for its genius, I can recommend the curious to the superintendants of any poor-house in the country. I believe it to be, however, *suspiratio crebra, per dentes occlusos, omnivorentesque ejecta, vino ferinaque penitus saturata.*"

[The Editor omits no pains, or eagerness of research, to obtain whatever is rare and precious from the cabinet of Genius; and he is more especially curious to preserve, in his Port Folio, those works of the great masters, which are correct in their design, as well as brilliant in their colours. Whatever has been executed by EDMUND BURKE is of this description; and, in the following letter, the reader will discern both the true and the beautiful.]

AN ORIGINAL LETTER

FROM EDMUND BURKE TO MR. RIVAROL.

Not published in any edition of his works.

SIR,

I AM much obliged to you for your very polite and flattering attention to me, and to the piece, which you are pleased to regard with so much indulgence. It is an endeavour very well intended; but, I am conscious, very inadequate to the great interests of this kingdom and of mankind, which it proposes to assert.

I have seen, though too late to profit of them, your brother's admirable Annals, which may rank with those of Tacitus. There is, indeed, a strong coincidence in our way of thinking. I ought to be very proud of that circumstance. If I had seen his performance before I had written on the same subject, I should rather have chosen to enrich my pamphlet with quotations from thence, than have ventured to express the thoughts, in which we agreed, in worse words of my own.

I thank you too for the elegant poems, which you have done me the honour to transmit to me with your letter. So far as I am capable of forming any judgment upon French poetry, the verses are spirited and well-turned; and the author possesses the art of interesting the passions, which is the triumph of that kind of eloquence.

I wish, without disguising my real sentiments, I could go as far in my approbation of the general tendency of one of these pieces, and of the policy of such publications at such a time as this. Forgive me, sir, if I take the liberty of suggesting to your superior judgment, as well as to that of the emperor's advisers, that it is not very easy to suppress (by the methods lately used) what you call "the monkish fury," without exciting fury of another kind; a sort of fury, which will, perhaps, be found more untractable than the other, and which may be carried to much greater lengths. In such a dilemma, it would not misbecome a great statesman seriously to consider, which (of these furies) he has it in charge to support, and which is more fatal to the country, which it his duty to preserve in peace and prosperity. That fury, which arises in the minds of men on being stripped of their goods, and turned out of their houses by acts of power, and our sympathy with them under such wrongs, are feelings implanted in us by our Creator to be (under the direction of his laws) the means of our preservation. Such fury and such sympathy are things very different from men's imaginary political systems concerning governments. They arise out of instinctive principles of self-defence, and are executive powers under the legislation of nature, enforcing its first law. This principle princes and commonwealths (whatever they may think their rights), cannot always attack with perfect impunity.

If princes will, in cold blood, and from mistaken ideas of policy, excite the passions of the multitude against particular descriptions of men, whether they be priests or nobility, in order to avail themselves of the assistance of that multitude in their enterprizes against those classes, let them recollect, that they call in the aid of an ally more dangerous to themselves, than to those, whom they are desirous of oppressing.

The Netherlands have been but newly recovered to the emperor. He owes that recovery to a concurrence of very extraordinary circumstances; and he has made great sacrifices to his object. Is it really his interest to have it understood, that he means to repeat the very proceedings, which have excited all the late troubles in his territories? Can it be true that he means to draw up the very same flood gates, which have let loose the deluge that has overwhelmed the great monarchy in his neighbourhood? Does he think, if he means to encourage the spirit, which prevails in France, that it will be exerted in his favour, or to answer his purposes? Whilst he is destroying prejudices, which, under good management, may become the surest support of his government; is he not afraid that the discussion may go farther than he wishes? If he excites men to enquire too scrupulously, into the foundation of all old opinion, may he not have reason to apprehend, that several will see as little use in monarchs as in monks? The question is not, whether they will argue logically or not, but whether the turn of mind, which leads to such discussion, may not become as fatal to the former as to the latter. He may trust in the fine army he has assembled; but fine armies have been seduced from their allegiance, and the seducers are not far from him. He may fortify his frontier; but fortresses have been betrayed by their garrisons, and garrisons overpowered by the burghers. Those of the democratic faction in the Netherlands have always an armed ally more conveniently situated to assist them, than the emperor is conveniently situated to assist himself. Would not prudence rather dictate to that great sovereign, the surest mode of fortification; would not prudence direct him, I say, to fortify himself in the hearts of his people, by repairing, rather than by destroying, those dykes and barriers, which prejudice might raise in his favour, and which cost nothing to his treasury, either in the construction or the reparation.

It were better to forget, once for all, the Encyclopædia, and the whole body of the *economists*, and to resort to those old rules and principles, which have hitherto made princes great, and nations happy. Let not a prince, circumstanced like him, weakly fall in love either with monks or nobles; still less let him violently hate them. In his Netherlands he possesses the most populous, the best cultivated, and the most flourishing country in Europe; a country, from which, at this day, and even in England, we are to learn the perfect practice of the best of arts, that of agriculture. If he has a people like the Flemings, industrious, frugal, easy, and obedient, what is it to him, whether they are fond of monks, or love ringing of bells, and lighting of candles, or not? A wise prince, as I hope the emperor is, will study the genius of his people. He will indulge them in their humours; he will preserve them in their privileges; he will act upon the *circumstances of his states as he finds them;* and whilst thus acting upon the practical principles of a practical policy, he is the happy prince of an happy people. He will not care what the Condorcets and the Raynals, and the whole flight of the magpies and jays of philosophy may fancy and chatter concerning his conduct or his character.

Well it is for the Emperor, that the late rebellion of the Netherlands *was a rebellion against innovation*. When, therefore, he returned to the possession of his estates, an event, which no man wished more sincerely than I did, he found none of the ancient landmarks removed. He found every thing except the natural effects of a transient storm, exactly as it was on the day of the revolt. Would the king of France, supposing his restoration probable, find his kingdom in the same

condition? Oh! no, sir. Many long, long labours would be required to restore that country to any sort of good order. Why? because their rebellion is the direct contrary to that of Flanders. It is a *revolt of innovation*, and thereby the very elements of society have been confounded and dissipated. Small politicians will certainly recommend to him to nourish a democratic party, in order to curb the aristocratic and the clerical. In general, all policy founded on discord, is perilous to the prince and fatal to the country. The support of the permanent orders in their places, and the reconciling them all to his government, will be his best security, either for governing quietly in his own person, or for leaving any sure succession to his posterity. Corporations, which have a perpetual succession, and hereditary nobles, who themselves exist by succession, are the true guardians of monarchical succession. On such orders and institutions alone, an hereditary monarchy can stand. What they call the *democratic royale* in France, is laughed at by the very authors, as an absurd chimera. Where all things else are elective, you may call a king hereditary; but he is, for the present only a cypher; and the succession is not supported by any analogy in the state, nor combined with any sentiment whatsoever, existing in the minds of the people. It is a solitary, unsupported, anomalous king.

The story you tell of the Chartreux, in the time of Charles V may be true for any thing I know to the contrary. But what inference can be drawn from it? Why should it be necessary to influence the people, at such a time as this, to rob the Chartreux, who had no hand in that murder? Were the Chartreux, that I have seen at Paris, employed in committing or meditating murders? Are they so at *Latrappe*, or at the *grande Chartreuse*, or any where else? Inferences will be made from such a story. I don't mean logical, but practical inferences, which will harden the hearts of men, in this age of spoil, not only against them, but against a considerable portion of the human race. Some of these monks, in a sudden transport of fury, murdered somebody in the time of Charles V. What then? I am certain that, not in the time of Charles V, but now, and at all times, and in all countries, and in the bosom of the dearest relations of life, the most dreadful tragedies have been, and are daily acted. Is it right to bring forth these examples, to make us abhor those relations?

You observe, that a sequestration from the connexions of society makes the heart cold and unfeeling, I believe it may have that tendency.... though this is more than I find to be the fact, from the result of my own observations and inquiries; but, to the theory, it seems probable: however, as the greatest crimes do not arise so much from a want of feeling for others, as from an over sensibility for ourselves, and an over indulgence to our own desires, very sequestered people (such as the Chartreux), as they are less touched with the sympathies which soften the manners, are less engaged in the passions which agitate the mind. The best virtues can hardly be found among them, but crimes must be more rare in that form of society, than in the active world. If I were to trust to my own observation, and give a verdict on it, I must depose, that, in my experience, I have found that those, who were most indulgent to themselves, were (in the mass) less kind to others, than those, who have lived a life nearer to self-denial. I go further. In my experience, I have observed, that a luxurious softness of manners hardens the heart, at least as much as an overdone abstinence. I question much, whether moral policy will justify us in an endeavour to interest the heart in favour of immoral, irregular, and illegal actions, on account of particular touching circumstances, that may happen to attend the commission or the punishment of them. I know poets are apt enough to choose such subjects, in order to excite the high relish arising from the mixed sensations which will arise in that anxious embarrassment of the mind, whenever it finds itself in a locality, where vices and virtue meet near their confines....where

Mire sagaces falleret hospites
Discrimen obscurum.....

I think, of late, that the Parisian philosophers have done, upon a meditated system, what the poets are naturally led to, by a desiring of flattering the passions. To you, as a poet, this is to be allowed. To philosophers, one cannot be so indulgent; for, perhaps, ladies ought not "to love too well," like the *Phædras* and *Myrthas* of old, or the ancient or modern *Eloises*. They had better not pursue their lovers into convents of Carthusians, nor follow them in disguise to camps and slaughter-houses. But I have observed, that the philosophers, in order to insinuate their polluted atheism into young minds, have systematically flattered all their passions, natural and unnatural. They explode, or render odious, or contemptible, that class of virtues, which restrain the appetite. These are, at least, nine out of ten of the virtues. In the place of all these, they substitute a virtue, which they call humanity or benevolence. By this means, their morality has no idea in it of restraint, or indeed of a distinct, settled principle, of any kind. When their disciples are thus left free, and guided only by present feeling, they are no longer to be depended on for good or evil. The men who, to-day, snatch the worst criminals from justice, will surrender the most innocent persons to-morrow.

I assure you, sir, that this letter has been written six weeks ago, given to be copied, and I really thought sent to you. Looking on my papers, I found my memory had betrayed me, and that you have an apparent reason to complain of my neglect. You have, in the late events, done yourself great honour, as I hear. Do not be discouraged. The value of such services will, one day, be known and acknowledged. I have the honour to be, with most sincere respect,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

EDMUND BURKE.

June, 1791.

BIOGRAPHY.

THE LIFE OF THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM WINDHAM.

(CONCLUDED.)

A GREAT event....no less than that of the French revolution....contributed not a little, about this period, to make an entire change in the politics of the nation. But no body of men experienced a greater shock than the opposition. They had been lessened indeed, by a few occasional desertions; but the crisis alluded to thinned their ranks, dispelled their consequence, and spread terror and dismay among their adherents.

So early as 1790, Mr. Burke had declared, "that his honourable friend (Mr. Fox) and he were separated in politics forever." He even withdrew his name from the "Whig Club;" and, after exclaiming, "I quit the camp! I quit the camp!" passed over to the enemy! This gentleman became the precursor of many others, not a few of whom, it is to be hoped, were actuated by honourable motives, and not attracted by the wealth, the splendour, the titles and the power, which were now within their grasp.

Mr. Windham did not declare himself so early as Mr. Burke; he however evinced a marked hostility to Mr. Grey's efforts for a reform, in 1792, and made a solemn declaration, "that whenever, and in whatever shape, the motion for a parliamentary reform was brought forward, he must oppose it." He, at the same time, said, "he would unite with those, who were determined to set their faces against every endeavour *to subvert the true principles of the constitution;*" he however explained, "that he did not mean to make any improper allusion to the motives of his honourable friends."

On the motion for an address on his majesty's speech, at the commencement of the session of 1792, the subject of these memoirs observed, "that, strange as it might appear, he should vote this night with them, whose measures he *had uniformly and conscientiously reprobated*, in opposition to those, *whose political sentiments, on almost every other occasion, were in unison with his own.*" He then added, "there was a well founded alarm gone abroad, not, as has been alleged, from the conduct of the officers of government, but from those, who were sworn enemies of all government. The whole was a well arranged plan for overturning the British constitution; and, with regard to the combined armies that marched towards the capital of France, he believed their motives were "good," and therefore he wished them success, and so he should, "had their motives been ever so bad; that, which they opposed, *was worse* than any consequence that could have resulted from their success."

It may now be fairly assumed, that Mr. Windham had chosen his side in this grand contest; and it must be allowed, that he *spoke out*, and, by so doing, acted far more honourably than many of his *new* friends. Accordingly, in June, 1793, when Mr. Fox made a motion respecting the war, the purport of which was, to present an humble address to his majesty, "to restore the blessings of peace," Mr. W. remarked, that he had yet to learn any rule, by which a country was to be called upon, at the beginning of a war, to state definitively, what are the precise objects of that war, or what the precise situation in which it ought to desist from it. He observed, with great nicety of distinction, that there had been a disavowal of any intention, on our part, to interfere, for the purpose of establishing in France any particular form of government; but he, at the same time, conceived it to have been the avowed purpose of the contest, to *bring about the establishment of such a government in that country, as we might safely treat with;* and we were "to prosecute the war, until we could make peace with safety."

It is to be remarked, however, with regret, that, in proportion as the scene thickened, his enmity against his ancient friends became greater; we accordingly find that, in a debate, or rather conversation about the *voluntary subscriptions**, which were considered as unconstitutional by the members of opposition, he professed to dread "the proferred services of those late coming, and self-called champions, who now come forward in defence of that constitutson, which they have attempted to deliver over without remorse, *to the savage knife of every audacious reformer.*" He, at the same time, added, "that their conduct was at least equivocal, and that their past actions gave no weight to their present professions."

When the session of 1794 was opened, by a speech from the throne, an amendment was moved by the opposition, and a respectable, if not a numerous minority, voted against the continuance of the war. It now began to be perceived, that, in the contest with France, little was to be expected, and that the golden hopes of conquest, entertained both by ourselves and allies, must end in disappointment. The *new* secretary at war, however, saw things in a different point of view. He heard, with surprize and grief, the arguments in support of the amendment.

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* March 28, 1794. It is to be observed, that, on this and all other occasions, the speeches are either extracted or copied from the published debates.

"What was their obvious tendency? Submission, humiliation, degradation, before an inveterate and insolent enemy! The war, it is true, had been unsuccessful, but it had been so only compared with the wishes, the hopes, and the force of the confederacy. All that could be said with truth was, that the war, hitherto, had only been a *negative success*.

"..... A right honourable gentleman, in a book, which he would advise all, who heard him, once more to read, had predicted the evils that must necessarily ensue from the doctrines of liberty, equality, and the rights of man. It was his fate not to be believed at the time, and afterwards to be found completely right. Thence came the opinions of those, who, having favoured the French revolution at its commencement, could not, so soon as others, detach their affections from a sytem, that led to massacre and ruin. The imaginations of the people at large, as he and those, with whom he had *now* the happiness to act, contended, were still amused by a numerous and active party, infected to the bone with French principles, and intent on the subversion of the British constitution. Societies, formed by this party, had propagated doctrines, the most hostile to the interests of this country. But it was said, the members of these societies had been acquitted by the verdict of a jury; and gentlemen talked of their innocence, in a tone of exultation. He wished them joy of the innocence of an *acquitted felon!*

"He maintained, that our interference in the internal affairs of France was wise and just. The advantages of war or peace were not to be estimated by the territory or the trade we might gain or lose. No nation could say, 'Let us be disgraced, provided we grow rich.' Peace was not more likely to be obtained for our asking for it. If it were, what would then be the situation of the country? A situation so awful, that he durst hardly contemplate it. The intercourse between the two countries must then be opened; the French would pour in their emissaries; and all the English, infected with French principles, whom we had now the means of excluding, would return, to disseminate their abominable tenets among our people. A jacobinical club would be erected at every one's door, and a convention might even be established in the neighbourhood of that house. In this situation of danger then, shall we send a submissive commission to them? If the aggression of the Spaniards at Nootka Sound, a place scarce marked in our maps, called forth the threatening vengeance of this country; if our own territories are not dismembered, our resources almost untouched, and those of our unprincipled enemy absolutely exhausted, should we give up a war, in comparison of which, all former wars were as children's play, while all peace must be our ruin? The moment peace was concluded, they would go among our poor, among our labourers, among our manufacturers, and teach them the doctrine of liberty and equality. They would point out the gilded palaces of the rich, and tell them, that these ought to be plundered and demolished, for the benefit of the poor.

"Such a peace would be worse than any probable effect of war. But of the future events of war, we had no reason to despond. Exertions, greater than the country could make at any former period, were now so lightly borne, as hardly to be felt. Who could say he had felt them? Had the poor felt them, except in a few particular and local instances? What member of that house had deprived himself of any of his wonted gratifications?

"The cause for which they were fighting, it had been said, would animate the French, and render them invincible. Where had this invincible courage appeared? In what instance, in what quarter had the courage of our soldiers and seamen been inferior to theirs? Sorry he should be, if we could not do, for the best of all causes, what the French could do, in support of every thing the most flagitious. The French emigrants in our service had, in every instance, displayed a valour and perseverance, not surely to be exceeded by their infatuated countrymen, against whom they were reduced to the necessity of taking up arms.

"He dwelt on the unimpaired resources of this country, compared with the unnatural and unsound resources of France; whence he inferred, that, whatever present appearances might indicate, we must be ultimately successful in what the speech from the throne had so truly denominated the *deliverance of Europe*.

"It was not the character of Englishmen," he added, "to despond; they had met France single-handed in her proudest day; what then can hinder us, unimpaired, and assisted by the greatest part of Europe, to go on with the war against a nation, whose capital is with accelerating velocity wasting away, and its debt increasing to a height, which it is impossible it can bear? With such a *pandemondium*, is it possible for us, for a moment, to think of treating? *They were bleeding to death, we were scarcely scratched.*"

It must be frankly confessed that Mr. W. at this period was very unpopular, and that the hatred evinced to him now led many into extremes. He was not only accused of having deserted a *barren* opposition, for the sake of the *productive* emoluments of office, but he was, at the same time, considered by some as utterly devoid of any principle. The manly manner, in which he expressed, or at least hinted, his generous sympathy towards the house of Bourbon, and the zeal, which both Mr. Burke and himself had evinced, to affix a determinate principle to the war, by a bold and unequivocal declaration on this subject, was supposed to give umbrage even to his *new* associates in the ministry, who preferred an undefined system of hostility, and lavished both blood and treasure without any fixed object, on which the public mind could rest. Nor were the opponents of the secretary at war content with the openings, which he sometimes afforded them, amidst the sallies of indignation, or the surmises, which they deduced from the warmth of his temper, and the violence of his zeal: they went still further, and attached sayings and maxims to his name, which he never uttered, and which, had they been suffered to remain uncontradicted, might have blackened his character with the world in general, and hurt him greatly in the opinion of his constituents.

We accordingly find that, in the debate for the suspension of the *habeas corpus* (a measure, to which he was of course friendly), Mr. Windham found it necessary to vindicate his character from a falsehood, everywhere circulated, purporting that he had exclaimed in the house of commons, "Perish our commerce!" On this Mr. Hardinge rose in his place, and *fathered* the expression. He observed that, in justice both to the right honourable gentleman and himself, he was anxious to declare, "that the sentiment alluded to, relating to the commerce and constitution of the country, had come from him, and not from Mr. Windham: nor was he ashamed now to repeat, that if the unfortunate difficulty should ever arrive, when he must sacrifice either the one or the other, he would again say, '*Perish commerce....live the constitution!*"

About this time occurred the equally famous and unfortunate expedition to Quiberon, and while it tended to damp the exertions of ministry, was supposed by some to reflect but little lustre on the discernment of those, who planned and countenanced the attempt. It was said that the emigrants had always been kept in the *back ground*, while there was a possibility of their acting with energy and effect; that they were now brought forward merely by way of making what, in the military phrase, is termed a *diversion*, that De Puisaye, who headed them, was utterly unacquainted with military affairs; and, in addition to this, was not to be trusted, having before acted a *double part*, and carried arms *on both sides of the question*, during the revolutionary disputes in his native country. Certain it is that the conduct of this chief was equivocal, and that he was preferred to better, abler, and more gallant men, such as the brave and unfortunate Sombreuil; but, on the other hand, it was never urged that this preference amounted to any thing more than an error of judgment, and every one acquainted with the subject of these memoirs will readily allow that he must have felt the unhappy fate of the slaughtered nobility, with a poignancy inferior to no man in the kingdom.

It so happened, however, that Mr. W. on this occasion, once more afforded an *opening* to the asperity of his enemies; for when the house sat in a committee on the *army extraordinaries**, after explaining that the emigrant *corps* had been raised during the marches and counter-marches of the armies on the continent, and that therefore regular returns were not to be expected; he unfortunately added, "that the deficiency of men in proportion to the officers arose from this, that being formed during the heat of the campaign, no provision was made for filling up those, who were *killed off!*"

The same idea might surely have been expressed in a less objectionable manner; but in its present garb it appeared too gross even for those bred up to war, and fleshed in manslaughter. General Tarleton seized this opportunity to express his abhorrence of the whole transaction. He also objected to the late expeditions to the coast of France as ill-timed:

"While France was distracted by insurrections in various parts of the republic, and Toulon in the hands of this country, the expedition alone could have been plausible. The troops employed were prisoners of war taken out of confinement, and little affected to the cause. The sacrifice of such men might perhaps by some be thought even meritorious. The officers were men of honour; but the commander, Mr. Puisaye, was a person neither of experience in war, nor of a military character. The event of this expedition was equally calamitous to those engaged in it, and fatal to the reputation of this country; but in justice to the individuals, who had thus perished, from the reliance on the British nation, he could not mention without respect and compassion the dignified resignation of the bishop of Dol, and the premature fate of the gallant Sombreuil and his brave companions.... But why talk of pity to men callous to every feeling of humanity; to men, who, with all the coolness of philosophy, could talk of the emigrants *killed off*; who seemed to delight in blood, and glory in devastation†."

When the opposition found themselves baffled and frustrated upon all occasions by large majorities, they determined for a while to avert their attacks from the war itself, but to fasten on the means, by which the ministry were supposed to be able to carry it on. Mr. Harrison having moved, in the house of commons, on March 13, 1797, "That the extent of supplies, voted to government since the commencement of the present war, having caused so heavy an increase of taxes, it is the duty of this house to inquire whether some relief to the burdens of the people, or provision for further expence, may not be obtained by the reduction of useless places, sinecure offices, exorbitant fees, and other modes of retrenchment in the expenditure

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* Dec. 2. 1795.

† It ought to be mentioned to the honour of Mr. Windham, that notwithstanding the above *philippic*, this very general was sent soon afterwards to Portugal, in a military capacity! It at least serves to prove, that if Mr. Windham be at times *warm* he is not *rancorous*.

of public monies." Mr. Windham spoke against the motion, which had also been objected to by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Rose, both of whom possessed *sinecures!*

He considered it as "calculated only to attract the notice of certain descriptions of persons out of doors, by raising an idle and empty clamour against sinecure places. Gentlemen ought to recollect where they were; that they were sitting as statesmen in parliament, and not haranguers at a public-house. Let them learn to suit their opinions to their situation, and not cut off all rewards. It had been said, that since Mr. Burke's retrenching regulation, a great deal of fresh patronage had been growing up. Well, what then? Is it not necessary to inquire whether there be not a better regulation of business by the increase of expense, than could be balanced by the diminution?

"Then came in its turn before the house the subject of the calamity of this country. He agreed with gentlemen that this country was in a state of calamity, though he differed from them about the cause, and as much about the remedy. The calamity was felt; it was felt by all Europe; it was a calamity, which the pernicious doctrines prevalent in France had occasioned all over Europe, and which it became all Europe to repel, but to which the speeches of some gentlemen, who favoured this and the like motions too much contributed; the effects of which were, the enormous acquisitions and arrogant pretensions of our enemies, to be conquered by manful exertions, and not by the mean and miserable savings of *the ends of candles, and the parings of bits of cheese**.

"If there was any waste in any public department, the house should meet it fairly; but they should not practise so mean and shabby a delusion on the public, as to hold up the savings of a few sinecure places as a resource to lessen the public burdens; for he verily believed that the fee-simple of all such savings would not amount to a farthing a head to all the inhabitants of London.

"If ministers had conducted the war improperly, let the house say so, and impeach them at once; but this is not the way. By attacking the property of a placeman, you attack all species of property. Let men of property be cautious how they act in aiding such opinions, for there is a close connection between the clamour against public offices, and the confiscation of private property."

Few, it is apprehended, are willing to go so far in behalf of sinecure places, and Mr. W's best friends will perhaps differ with him on this question. Indeed the opposition papers took care to *ring the changes upon it*, as well as upon another expression that occurred soon after†, when he asserted, "that the restoration of monarchy was wished for by the enlightened majority of the French nation, whose opinion was smothered by tyranny and oppression, and the debates of whose councils could assume no tone of *freedom* but under the *protection* of field-marshal Suwarrow."

It has already been observed that the secretary at war's conduct has been far more candid than any of his late coadjutors, and he continued to evince the same sentiments, so long as he remained in office.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that although the cabinet did not act up to the full extent of his sentiments, yet that all their *active operations* experienced his support. The expedition to Quiberon was supposed to have originated with him, and the invasion of Holland could not fail to obtain his unqualified assent. Indeed about that period, he *spoke out* more than usual; and when the bill was debating, which enabled his majesty to accept of the services of an additional number of militia†, he asked

"If we could be safe while such a republic as that established in France continued to exist? It had ever been his opinion," he added, "that there was no safety for this country or for Europe, with such a power in the midst of it. If France, animated by principles, which distinguish her republican government, was suffered to retain the dominions she lately possessed, all the means of defence, which we could boast, would be imperfect for our safety. He would repeat, and state fairly, that *both the reduction of France, and the total overthrow and destruction of the French government were* HIS *object, and the object of those, with whom he acted.*"

We have thus given a pretty regular detail of Mr. W.'s public conduct. On all occasions, in which party zeal is not called forth, he appears in a very amiable point of view; but neither as a politician nor a patriot, hath he of late years (at least according to the *oppositionists*) added much to his celebrity. Like a certain bishop, he has engendered a host of enemies, in consequence of the occasional irritability of his temper, and, like all men in a similar situation, each of them has at times been either mistaken or misrepresented. The right reverend father in God, after a severe rebuke from the head of the house of Bedford, explained away the odious proposition, "that the people had nothing to do with the laws but to obey them!" The right honourable ex-secretary, who represents a large manufacturing city, which has been *scratched* by the war, was far more successful, however, in refuting the impudent accusation about "perish our commerce!"

They are both equally detestable in the eyes of the "jacobins," who, by way of punishing their supposed ambition, earnestly wish that the former may never become the apostolic successor of Thomas à Becket, although they would have no manner of objection, perhaps, to his experiencing a similar fate; while, in respect to the latter, they hope, that after beholding a number of his countrymen "killed off" by the war, and many "acquitted felons" set at liberty by the verdict of a jury, he may remain forever in the vale of oblivion, and only be permitted to dream of the "cheese-parings" of office!

But irony apart, if Mr. W. has failings like other men, it must at the same time be allowed, that he has virtues peculiar to himself. He possesses great learning, much general knowledge, a happy choice of words, and is capable of giving a luminous classification to his arguments. In addition to this, he is warm in behalf of those, whose interest he espouses, and steady and sincere in his private friendships.

He has lived in habits of intimacy with many men of great eminence in the literary world, and his attachment to Mr. Burke, during the latter part of his life, had something filial in it. He also cultivated the regard of Dr. Johnson, consoled him in his disappointments, visited him in his illness, had his own servant constantly in attendance upon him, during the malady that terminated his life, and we have been given to understand, it was in the arms of this person, that the great lexicographer of the English language resigned his breath†!

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* From the report of the commissioners of public accounts, some time after presented to the house, it appeared that one clerk in Mr. Windham's office, from these candle ends and cheese parings, had an income of eighteen thousand pounds sterling a year.

† June 7, 1799.

* Sept. 26, 1799.

† As secretary at war, Mr. Windham is entitled to great praise. He was daily to be met with at a fixed hour, when every military man, or any other individual whatsoever, who had business at his office, was sure of obtaining an interview, and of experiencing the utmost attention and politeness.

The clerks in his department (more especially the *inferior* ones) enjoyed repeated marks of his regard, he having twice increased their salaries during his short administration, and thus exempted them from many pecuniary difficulties resulting from the late unexampled rise of provisions.

In consequence of his official arrangements, business was transacted with greater expedition than before, and two hours saved daily; the officers and soldiers of the army have also experienced many benefits that have ensued in consequence of his regulations.

It was formerly impossible to receive any intelligence at the muster-master-general's office, respecting the fate of a poor soldier, without a *fee* being extorted from his wretched relatives; this odious custom was abolished by him.

It has been lately asserted in the French papers, that Mr. Windham countenanced and even employed the assassins, who attempted the life of Bonaparte: but however violent his zeal may have been, no Englishman can ever believe him to have been capable of so base, treacherous, and immoral an action.....EDITOR.

MISCELLANEOUS PARAGRAPHS.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

IN former times, says a French journal, it was the practice in France to *excommunicate* moles, field-mice, and other vermin that did injury to the crops. Before they were excommunicated, they had an advocate assigned to plead their cause. There still is extant a sentence of the official of Troyes, in Champagne, dated 9th July, 1516, in proof of this singular superstition. It is as follows: "Parties being heard on the complaint of the inhabitants of Villenose, we admonish the moles to be gone within six days, and in case of their failing so to do, we declare them cursed and excommunicated."

—

The general in his proper place.....When general Bernadotte was in the camp at Dijon, a person asked him if it was true that his health would not allow him to follow the army? "What do you call *following* the army?" replied the general, "I never *followed* the army; I always marched at the head of it!"

—

When the princess of Hesse D'Harmstadt brought her three daughters to the empress of Russia, in order that she might chuse one of them for the wife of the grand duke, the empress decided instantly in favour of the second. When her majesty was asked the reason of this sudden preference, she replied, "I observed the three princesses from my window, as they descended from their carriage. The eldest made a false step; the second stept down in an easy and natural manner; the third leaped out." Though this was a very singular manner of forming an opinion, it so happened, that the first was aukward, and the younger too forward.

—

Extra Time Match.....Cornet Sampson, of the 11th light dragoons, has engaged to *walk* ninety miles in twenty-one hours and a half, for 1000 guineas. He has fixed upon the same ground, on which Mr. Barclay performed his match, and is to walk before the 24th instant. He is a gentleman of low stature, very light made, and about 22 years of age.....*York Herald.*

—

Dignum, the singer, was talking in jest of setting up his carriage, and pleasantly asked a friend for a suitable *motto*, which should indicate that he made his fortune by *singing*. His friend gave him, out of Horace,

DIGNUM laude virum
MUSA vetat mori.

—

The change in the female dress of late must contribute very much to domestic quiet. No man can surely now complain of *petticoat* government!

—

French Anecdotes.....We extract the following from the "Nouveaux Melanges" of madame Necker.

Mons. Dufour was one of those men, who were to be found in all places. Darbouilie said one day,

"I cannot tell what the d—l is become of Dufour ....I have met him but three times to-day."

Count D'Argenson, the minister of Louis XV, after he had been turned out of office about an hour, wrote to Jeamel, the intendant of posts, to which place he had himself appointed him, "My dear Jeamel, if you *still* remember there is such a person in the world as D'Argenson," &c.

Madame De Maintenon, when at Fontainbleau, observed some carps in clear water, "Poor creatures," said she "they are very thin; but it is a dreadful thing to be taken out of one's primitive mud."

—

The great advantage derived from crossing the breed of *cattle*, has induced a similar experiment upon *oysters*. A gentleman has imported several of the Carlingford, and other famous Irish oysters, which he has laid down in the beds of the English *natives* and *meltons*. The produce of this *Union* is said to be of superior taste and flavour. This fact strongly proves the truth of *Tilburina's* observation in *The Critic*, that "an oyster may be *crossed* in love."

—

ANOTHER WALKING MATCH.

On Sunday, Marshall, a butcher, of the age of 60, undertook to walk thirty miles in six hours, for a considerable wager, and very large sums were depending. The place he chose for deciding the bet, was a mile of the road on the other side of Lea bridge. He started at seven o'clock in the morning, walking one mile in and one mile out, till he performed the task, which he did with ease in eleven minutes less than the time allowed.

[*London paper.*

—

GENERAL ORDERS.

Camp of Venus, May 1, 1802.

Whereas the province of Fashion, belonging to our royal demesne, being at this time invaded by our mortal enemies, the Wantons, who, having stormed the fort of Modesty, and trodden under foot the standard of Shame, have erected on its ruins the banners of Impudence....and fearing our holy temple of Chastity may be razed to the level of Lewdness, and understanding that General Nakedness has broken his neutrality, and gone over to the enemy, and that he has erected, in many parts of the country such enormous Breast-works as was never before seen....we command all our forces to parade immediately, properly armed and accoutred, with squibs, pasquinades, &c. and to cut, fell, root out, and destroy said Breast-works, and to annoy the enemy as much as possible.

Should that immodest general sound a retreat, we command our band, called the Bashfuls, to pursue him to capitulation, and that he be banished to the desert of Darkness, and be kept confined to the chamber of Matrimony.

CUPID, *Generalissimo.*

SANCHO, *Secretary.*

[*Salem Register.*

ORIGINAL POETRY.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

[The following, at once loyal, poetical, and just, is the production of an American clergyman.]

OCCASIONED BY

LORD NELSON'S VICTORY AT THE NILE.

O'ER the ocean triumphant, see Britain's flag fly,
To the nations around bearing mandates of joy:
She bids them still hope, soon their fears shall be o'er,
And the tyrants they dread shall be heard of no more.

Tho' cruelty, pride, and rebellion advance,
With the engines of hell, and the demons of France,
To Religion and Virtue, oppress'd in despair,
Her thunders proclaim their redemption is near.

At the sound, honest *Loyalty* raises his crest,
And *Truth* her broad shield braces firm to her breast;
While *Liberty*, grasping her spear with a smile,
Feels her *fetters* unlock'd, by the *heroes of Nile.*

O Britain! no period thy deeds shall efface,
While the moon rolls her orb, or the sun holds his place;
Father Time, while his scythe sweeps o'er earth, air, and sea,
But gathers a harvest of laurels for thee.

As he passes along, his loud accents proclaim
Thy long streaming glories, thy wisdom, and fame:
When *Chaos*, he cries, shall all order confound,
And *Anarchy* swell her dark deluge around,

Great-Britain's the ark, high o'erbraving the flood,
Bearing all that is *glorious*, and *precious*, and *good*;
To the light of her, *Liberty*, *Piety*, *Fame*,
All *nations* shall come to rekindle their flame.

SELECTED POETRY.

THE VARIETIES OF MELANCHOLY.

WHEN I go musing all alone,
Thinking of divers things foreknown;
When I build castles in the air,
Void of sorrow, void of care,
Pleasing myself with phantoms sweet,
The time, methinks, runs very fleet;
All my joys to this are folly,
Nought so sweet as Melancholy.

When I lie waking all alone,
Recounting all the ills I've done,
My thoughts on me then tyrannize,
Fear and sorrow me surprise.
Whether I tarry still or go,
The time, methinks, moves very slow;
All my griefs to this are jolly,
Nought so sad as Melancholy.

When to myself I talk and smile,
And time with pleasing thoughts beguile,
By brawling brook, or hedgerow green,
Unheard, unsought for, and unseen,
A thousand joys my soul possess,
And crown my heart with happiness;
All my joys besides are folly,
None so sweet as Melancholy.

When I lie, sit, or walk alone,
And sigh aloud with grievous moan,
In some dark grove or dismal den,
With discontent and fairies, then
A thousand miseries at once
My heavy heart and soul ensconce;
All my griefs to this are jolly,
None so sour as Melancholy.

Methinks I hear, methinks I see
Sweet music's wond'rous minstrelsy;
Towns, palaces, and cities fine,
Now here, now there, the world is mine.
Rare beauties, gallant ladies shine,
Whate'er is lovely or divine;
All other joys to this are folly,
None so sweet as Melancholy.

But when, methinks, I hear and see
Ghosts, goblins, fiends; my phantasy
Presents a thousand ugly shapes,
Headless bears, black men, and apes,
Doleful outcries, dreadful sights,
My sad and dismal soul affrights.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
None so DAMN'D AS MELANCHOLY.

Methinks I court, methinks I kiss,
With glowing warmth, my fair mistress.
O, blessed days! O, sweet content!
In Paradise my hours are spent.
Still may such thoughts my fancy move,
And fill my ardent soul with love;
All my joys to this are folly,
Nought so sweet as Melancholy.

But when I feel love's various frights,
Deep sighs, sad tears, and sleepless nights,
My jealous fits, my cruel fate,
I then repent, but 'tis too late.
No torment is so bad as love,
Nought bitterer to my soul can prove;
All my griefs to this are jolly,
Nought so harsh as Melancholy.

Friends and companions, get ye gone,
'Tis my desire to be alone;
Ne'er well, but when my thoughts and I
Do domineer in privacy.
No gem, no treasure like to this,
'Tis my delight, my crown, my bliss;
All my joys to this are folly,
Nought so sweet as Melancholy.

'Tis my sole plague to be alone;
I am a beast, a monster grown;
I shun all light and company,
I find them now my misery:
The scene is chang'd, my joys are gone,
Fears, discontent, and sorrows come;
All my griefs to this are jolly,
Nought so fierce as Melancholy.

I'll not change life with any king;
I ravish'd am; can the world bring
More joy than still to laugh and smile,
And time in pleasant toys beguile?
Do not, oh! do not trouble me!
So sweet content, I feel and see
All my joys to this are folly,
None so divine as Melancholy.

I'll change my state with any wretch
Thou canst from goal or dunghill fetch;
My pain's past cure, another hell
I cannot in this torment dwell.
Now desperate, I hate my life,
And seek a halter or a knife;
All my griefs to this are jolly,
Nought so damn'd as Melancholy.

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